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INANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GODS.

Throughout Polynesia, inanimate objects were selected or made to represent the gods. These objects were kept in the religious structures or in the personal charge of the priests. They were always on hand whereas the animate representatives were not always available. Simple natural objects such as stones and shells were utilized. In the Tahitian region, red feathers impregnated with the spiritual essence of the god formed the basis for further elaboration in form. More elaborate forms consisted of feather-work, sennit-work, and carved wooden objects. A further development consisted of carving images in wood, stone, or bone. The images developed conventional patterns that on the whole were characteristic in different regions, but yet considerable variation occurred even in the same region.

Considerable diversity occurred with regard to the attitude in which inanimate representatives were regarded. In some regions they seem merely to have formed part of a religious paraphernalia. In other regions they were charged with the spiritual essence of the god and on occasions might even be entered by the god on the solicitation of the priest. The asscciation of the immaterial god with the inanimate object entitles these inanimate representatives to come under the general term of fetish.

The inanimate fetishes reported from Tonga and Samoa range from natural objects such as stones, shells, and teeth, to manufactured articles such as mats, bowls, and weapons. Many of the gods were without such fetishes whilst others had as many as three. The smaller objects were usually wrapped up in bark-cloth smeared with turmeric, placed in baskets, and kept in the house sacred to the god. When worshippers gathered before the temple, the priest uncovered the fetishes and displayed them on a mat. Offerings were made to these material symbols of the deity in order to secure a favourable response to the petition of the devotees. The range of material objects selected as inanimate representatives of various gods in Tonga and Samoa is shown in Table 2.

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TABLE 2—INANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

Object	Tonga	Samoa
Whales' teeth	6	1
Sharks' teeth	-	1
Trumpet shell	-	2
Cypraea shell	-	1
Unnamed shell	1	1
Stones	2	3
Fine mats	2	-
Coconut leaf basket	-	1
White tapa cloth	-	1
Turmeric ball	1	-
Wooden bowl	-	3
Throwing club	2	-
Striking club	1	-
Coconut wood spear	-	1
Shield *(pa)*	1	-
Pitching discs *(lafo)*	1	-
	17	15

IMAGES FROM TONGA.

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Amongst the objects listed in Table 2 there is no representative in human form nor any carved object except perhaps the Tongan club. Yet Wilkes[4] reported that in Samoa carved blocks of wood and of stone were set up in memory of chiefs and worshipped. Collocott[5] also, in speaking of the furniture of the temple of the Tongan god, Mafuta-ae-tau, states that it consisted of "fine mats, weapons of war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with turmeric." This temple with its contents was burned after the acceptance of Christianity. Though the carved objects mentioned by Wilkes and Collocott may not have been in human form, the statements are interesting in view of the fact that carved images from both island groups are in existence. It is remarkable that neither Collocott nor Gifford were given information by the Tongans regarding the presence of images in the Haapai islands. Turner also made no mention of images in Samoa though such an object is now in the British Museum.

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[4]Wilkes, Charles, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, Philadelphia, 1844, vol. 2, p. 139.

[5]Collocott, E. V., Notes on Tongan Religion, *J.P.S.*, New Plymouth, 1921, vol. 30, p. 228.

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The existence in Haapai of inanimate representatives of gods, shaped in human form, is established by the documentary evidence of the missionary, John Williams, who visited the Tongan group in 1830. At that time, Haapai was subject to the authority of Taufaahau, who afterward became ruler of the whole Tongan group with the title of George Tupou I. Taufaahau, according to Williams,[6] had despised the Tongan system of worship from his youth and, coming in contact with missionaries during a visit to Tongatabu, he resolved to abandon the gods of his ancestors. On his return to Haapai, he "commenced the work of destruction upon the gods and maraes." Williams had come to Tonga after work carried on in the Society and Cook groups and by "marae" he meant the Tongan house temple. His misuse of the term "marae" must not be regarded as evidence that the *marae* form of religious structure was present in Tonga. An opposing faction determined to celebrate a religious festival in honour of the gods whom Taufaahau was desecrating. Williams[7] wrote as follows:

> "Taufaahau, resolving to anticipate and neutralize this movement, drove a large herd of pigs into the sacred enclosure, converted a most beautiful little temple, which stood in the middle of it, into a sleeping appartment for his female servants, and suspended the gods by the neck to the rafters of the house in which they had been adored. The idolators, ignorant of his proceedings, came, with great ceremony, attended by their priests, to present their offerings, and found, to their astonishment, a number of voracious pigs, ready to devour anything they had to offer; and the gods, disrobed of their apparel, hanging in degradation, like so many condemned criminals."

The worshippers retired in indignation but evidently did not attempt to cut down the gods from their elevated position. Taufaahau conducted Williams to the building and Williams[8] continues:

> "On observing five goddesses hanging by the neck, I requested this intrepid chief to give me one of them, which he immediately cut down and presented to me. I have brought it to England, with the very string around its neck by which it was hung."

[6]Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 273.
[7]Williams, *Opt. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.
[8]Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 275.

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778 Fortunately Williams[9] reproduced a drawing of the
127 goddess. A copy, with the position reversed purposely for
[128] comparison with other figures to follow, is shown in fig. 1.

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FIG. 1.
Tongan image, after Williams.

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[171] distinguish it from wooden images from other parts of Polynesia. The head is poorly drawn but it is evident that the brows, nose, mouth, and ears are clearly defined. The outstanding features, however, are the large pointed breasts, the position of the arms which are free from the body with somewhat pointed hands hanging straight down, and the exaggerated back-projection of an enlarged gluteal region. The slightly flexed legs are short in proportion to the thighs and the feet are notched to represent toes. The figure stands on a base cut out of the same block of wood.

[9]Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 274.

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The image evidently did not pass into the museum of the London Missionary Society in London for it is not amongst the collection handed over by the London Missionary Society to the British Museum. Williams stated that he prized it very highly so he probably kept it for some time until at last it went into circulation along channels which unfortunately did not lead to the British Museum. My attention was drawn to the Williams image by Captain A. W. F. Fuller who has a similar figure in his own wonderful collection. Through his courtesy, I am enabled to reproduce it here in fig. 2. These old authentic artifacts are so valuable for comparative studies that I deem it advisable, when possible, to show views of the front, back, and right side of all figures as in the method of picturing stone adzes.

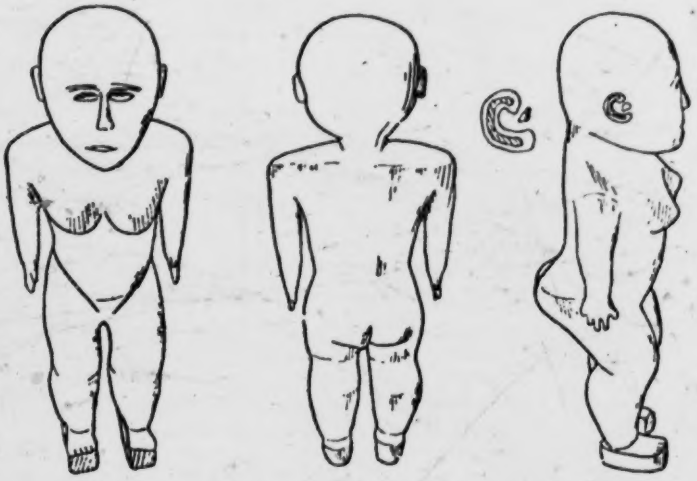

FIG. 2.

Tongan Image in Fuller Collection.

Made of ironwood, well polished. Height, 372 mm.; head-width, 65 mm.; shoulder-width, 144 mm.; width between hand extremities, 119 mm. Head rounded, with well-marked brows, excised elliptical eyes, good nose, and excised ellipital mouth; projecting ears with groove along helix and separate knob to represent tragus. Shoulders wide; arms free from body, extended downward with no flexion at elbows; hands thinned down with thumbs to the front. Breasts prominent and showing female sex. Abdomen not protruding, no navel, and gluteal region prominent. Thigh long and flexed; leg short with well developed calf.

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Comparison with the Williams figure shows a similar attitude of the arms and hands with prominence of the breasts and gluteal region. The Williams figure shows a flat face, flat head, and longer breasts, but these details were probably exaggerated by the English artist who did the drawing. The absence of eyes may also be due to the artist.

Two images, similar to the Fuller image, are in the private collection of Mr. Oldman of London. In a discussion amongst Captain Fuller, Mr. Oldman, and myself, we came to the unanimous conclusion that the images in their collections must have come from the same locality as the Williams image. A strong possibility exists that one of the Oldman images is the one that Williams brought back to London.

Four smaller images cut out of whale-ivory are in the British Museum, and the largest of them was so realistically carved that, at first, I thought it was the work of some European sailor. A comparison with the Fuller image, however, showed that the technique was so similar that there could be little doubt that the two came from the same locality. Three of the ivory images are labelled with the museum series of "Tah." which was applied to accessions from Tahiti, but the museum authorities place no reliance on the attribution to that locality. The largest of the images is shown in fig. 3.

Except for the details of the ear, the description of the ivory figure is practically word for word identical with that of the Fuller image. The other three smaller ivory figures are shown in figs. 4, 5, and 6. All three have a vertical hole drilled through the back of the head evidently for suspension.

Fig. 6 differs from the previous two, not only in size but in technical details. The downward extension of the arms and the hole through the back of the head link it up with them. The different numbering shows that it was not procured at the same time as the others.

The available data for Tonga here presented consist of three larger images in wood, which may include the Williams image, and four smaller figures in whale-ivory. In all of them, a similar position of the arms prevails.

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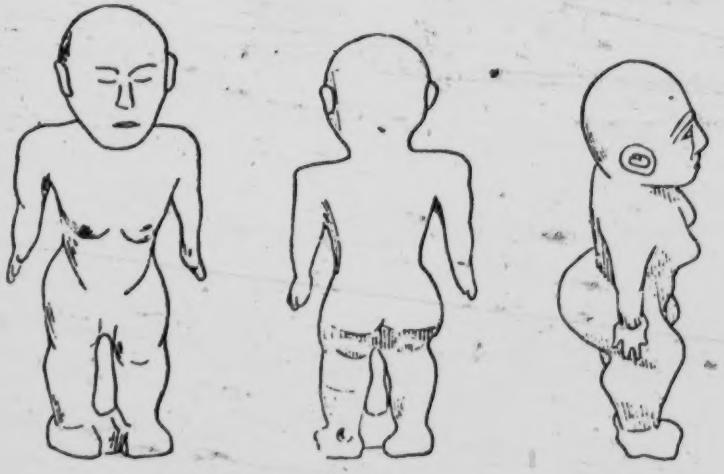

FIG. 3.

Ivory Image in British Museum (Tah. 133).

Whale-ivory, nicely polished. Height, 121 mm.; shoulder-width, 48 mm. Head rounded; brows, eyes, and nose well marked, with excised mouth; ears project and form complete ellipse without helix groove or separate tragus. Shoulders wide and rounded off; arms free of body, hanging down without elbow flexion; hands with thumbs to the front. Breasts prominent and denote female sex. Abdomen flat, no navel, and prominent gluteal region. Thighs flexed and feet joined by connecting-piece through which hole is pierced.

IVORY IMAGES IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

FIG. 4—Ivory image, British Museum (Tah. 135). Height, 35 mm.; shoulder-width, 19 mm. Resembles fig. 3 in prominent breasts, projecting gluteal region, prominent ears in complete ellipse, and position of downward extended arms with thumbs to the front. The side view not good owing to tilting in photograph. Figure also has raised band around arms and legs which are not well shown in drawing.

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FIG. 5—Ivory image, British Museum (Tah. 134). Height, 34 mm.; shoulder-width, 17 mm. Shows all characteristics of fig. 4 except for raised bands around limbs. Head somewhat straight in transverse line but rounded off from before back.

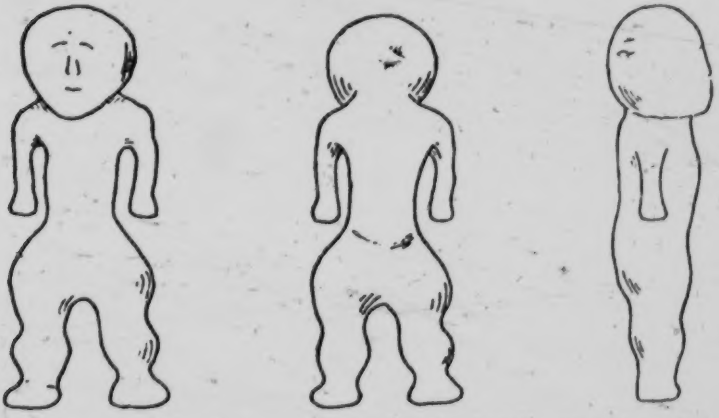

FIG. 6—Ivory image, British Museum (No. 2323). Height, 55 mm.; shoulder-width, 20 mm.; outer thigh width, 19 mm. Face somewhat indistinct; no ears, no breasts, no toes, fingers not formed; no projection of gluteal region; raised band around legs.

All, except fig. 6, are female with prominent breasts and gluteal regions. The definite documentary evidence by Williams and the lack of references to human form in other parts of the Tongan group indicate that female figures with projecting breasts and gluteal region and downward extended arms with thumbs to the front, are to be associated with the Haapai group of the Tongan islands.

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IMAGE FROM SAMOA.

A wooden image presented to Queen Victoria by King Malietoa of Samoa in 1841 has found sanctuary in the British Museum. The image was figured by Kraemer[10] and my first impression on seeing Kraemer's drawing was that the image belonged to the post-European period. However, the year 1841 is very early so far as Samoa is concerned for Christianity was not accepted until after the visit of John Williams in 1830. Doubt as to the purely native origin of the image vanishes after comparing it with the Tongan figures. The Samoan image is shown in fig. 7.

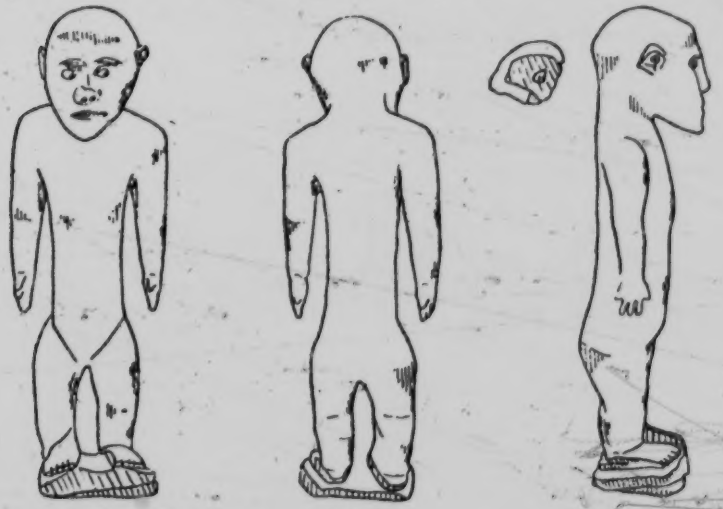

FIG. 7.

Samoan Image in British Museum.

Hard wood, light coloured, not polished. Height, 675 mm.; head-width, 146 mm.; head-length, 147 mm.; shoulder-width, 212 mm.; chest-thickness, 84 mm. Well-shaped head with brows, elliptical eye-sockets with shell-opercula inserted to represent eyeballs, wide nose with triangular lower surface with two holes for nostrils, elliptical mouth, and projecting ears with knob interruption to represent tragus. Long body with flat chest without prominent breasts, flat abdomen with depressed navel, and gluteal region not prominent. Arms free of body, extended downward without elbow flexion, five-fingered hands with thumb to front. Short legs and feet with five toes.

[10]Kraemer, A., *Die Samoa-Inseln*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1902, 1903; vol. 2, p. 207.

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As seen from the figure and description, the Samoan image differs from the Tongan images in a number of details. The head is not so rounded, the body is more elongated with a corresponding shortness of the legs, and the marked protuberance of the breasts and gluteal region is absent. The ears are more roughly made, the eyes have the addition of opercula eyeballs, and the nose besides being broader has the addition of two holes for nostrils. One cannot help feeling that the addition of nostril-holes to the fairly large triangular under-surface of the nose has been influenced more by the technique of the perforated triangular lug at the proximal ends of clubs than by anatomical considerations.

In spite of the differences in technical details, the general pose of the figure with the downward-extended arms and thumbs to the front is strikingly similar to that of the Tongan figures. The ears, though not so carefully carved, have a very important element of resemblance in the presence of a distinct projection to the front which corresponds to the tragus in the Fuller image (fig. 2). The separation of the tragus-element must be regarded as a specialization in western Polynesia because the technique is not present in the many images from the other regions that I have so far examined.

The Tongan wooden images are smooth and highly polished whereas the Samoan image retains the edge-marks from the final adzing-process. The Samoan image is also cruder in craftsmanship as shown by the rough carving of the nose and ears. In spite of these differences, the Samoan image appears to belong to the same art-school that was responsible for the Tongan images. It is unlikely that the same characteristic position of the arms and the specialized ear-tragus could originate in two localities independently of each other. The Haapai locality has been proved beyond question by Williams, and the existence of other images of a like technique shows that the form was not sporadic. Only one Samoan image is known up to the present, and it is more feasible to accept diffusion from Haapai than independent creation in Samoa. If the Samoan image had been made in Haapai, better workmanship and a closer adherence to the Haapai details might be expected. I incline to the opinion that the image sent

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to England by King Malietoa was made locally in Samoa by an inferior artist who was either Tongan or someone who was acquainted with the general appearance of the Haapai images.

Carved Weapons of Western Polynesia.

The use of birds, fish, and human figures as motives in the carvings on certain types of weapons has been definitely established for Tonga. While the human motives vary in form, many of the figures with wide shoulders and dependent arms hanging free from the body suggest the characteristic attitude of the Hapaai images already described. As these figures are small and on the flat, the prominent breasts and gluteal region of the images could not be included. Their presence in so many weapons indicates that the characteristic image-attitude had become an established motive in Tonga. It might well be inferred that the human-motives on the clubs originated with the carving-school responsible for the images in Hapaai. Investigations as to the distribution of club-types in the Tongan group itself might shed light on the subject.

The presence of zoomorphs and anthropomorphs in the carvings on Samoan clubs rests on the sole authority of Churchill.[11] The human figures recorded by him were confined to two clubs in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. I[12] have already expressed my opinion that, from the appearance of the figures and the clubs, the clubs were not Samoan but Tongan. Since then I have had the opportunity of personally examining the two clubs and I have now no doubt that both the clubs are Tongan. In fact, the museum catalogue definitely attributed one of them to Tonga, which reference Churchill must have overlooked. The one positive statement that human figures occur in Samoan club-carvings may thus be dismissed. Out of a large number of carved Samoan clubs examined by me in European and American museums, not one had zoomorphs or anthropomorphs as motives. My experience is shared by Messrs. Fuller and Oldman whose practical experience

[11]Churchill, W., *Club Types of Nuclear Polynesia*, Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1917.

[12]Te Rangi Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, 75, Honolulu, 1930, p. 611.

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Samoa OU8

in the handling of clubs from Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji must add the greatest weight to their opinions. If the human-figure motive had been adopted by Samoan craftsmen, we would expect to find its presence in some, at least, of the numerous authenticated Samoan clubs in various museums and private collections. The absence of the human-motive is evidence that it never entered Samoan carving-technique as applied to weapons. This lack of a human-motive in Samoan club-carvings may be taken as evidence in support of the argument that the Samoan image is due to Tongan influence.

IMAGES FROM CENTRAL POLYNESIA.

In order to stress the importance of the position of the arms and some technical details in the Tongan images, a few images from central Polynesia are here figured for comparative purposes. By central Polynesia, I mean the Society islands, but I would also include for the purposes of this study, the Cook and Austral groups. The examples selected are the smaller images in wood as such are more comparable with the Tongan material.

IMAGES FROM TAHITI.

In Tahiti, the inanimate representatives of the gods were termed *to'o* (cf. Maori, *toko)* and were usually made of a twined sennit covering over a wooden core with outer decorations of red feathers. The human form was rarely used. Wooden images, termed *ti'i* (Cf. Rarotongan, *tiki)*, were used by sorcerers to represent their familiar spirits. These were of both sexes, and an example of each is here figured as, from size and material, the technique is more readily comparable with the Tongan images. See figures 8 and 9.

The Tahitian figures are not so realistic as the Tongan, and their main differences consist in the treatment of the ears, the square shoulders with the straight edge across the back, the position of the arms, the nipples instead of breasts in the female figure, the projecting abdomen and navel, and the normal treatment of the gluteal region. It is evident in the two Tahitian figures that sex is indicated by the inclusion of the sex-organ, and the female breasts are not any more developed than the male. In the Tongan figures, the sex is indicated by the size of the breasts and the sex-organ is ignored.

(To be continued.)

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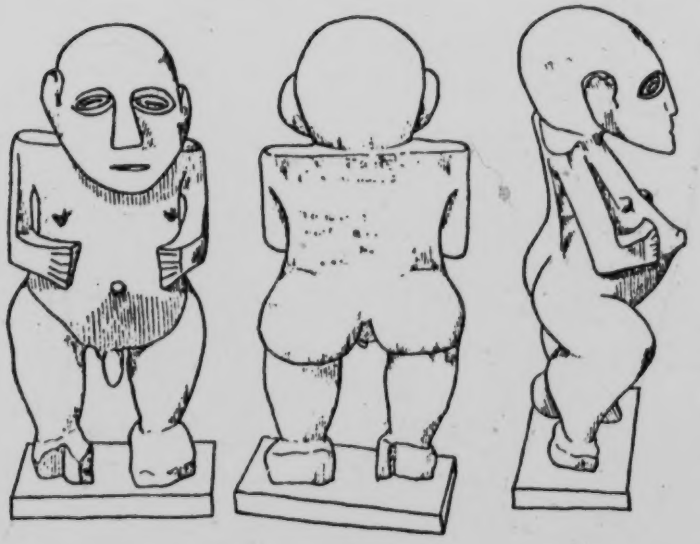

FIG. 8.

Tahitian Male Image, British Museum (No. 7047).

Height, 520 mm.; shoulder-width, 209 mm. Head with hollowed-out eye-socket containing raised elliptical eyeball with horizontal median slit; large shapeless ears with lower border continuous with jaw-angle; large nose and narrow slit mouth. Square shoulders with straight edge across back; upper arms free of body with flexed forearms and hands resting on abdomen. Flat chest with small nipples and projecting abdomen with protruding navel; gluteal region well shaped but not exaggerated. Flexed thighs and legs with shapeless feet. Phallus denotes sex and also inscription in ink on back, "Ti'i Tane" (male image).

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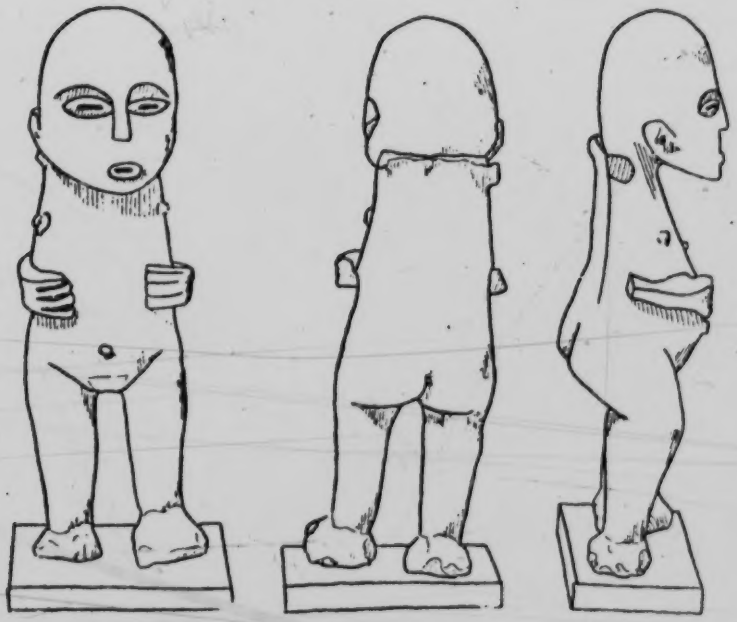

FIG. 9.

Tahitian Female Image, British Museum (?).

Height, 475 mm.; body-width at nipple-line, 114 mm. Similar in technique to fig. 8 in shape of head, eyes, ears, and nose, but mouth formed of raised ellipse with horizontal slit similar to eye. Similar square shoulders with straight edge across back; free upper arms broken off, flexed forearms and hands resting on abdomen. Flat chest with small nipples and projecting abdomen with protruding navel; gluteal region well shaped but not exaggerated. Flexed thighs and longer legs with solid shapeless feet. Sex indicated by slightly raised triangular area, base upwards, to represent vulva.

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IMAGES FROM THE COOK ISLANDS.

In the Cook islands region the inanimate representatives of the gods were constructed in various ways on the different islands. Mangaia, Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro had conventional carved forms in wood, but they were not in human form. Atiu had objects made of sennit-braid and covered closely with red feathers. Aitutaki had carved slabs but showed variety in using images as well albeit they were poorly carved. Rarotonga showed the greatest advance in the use of the human form in a variety of patterns. An image from Aitutaki is shown in fig. 10.

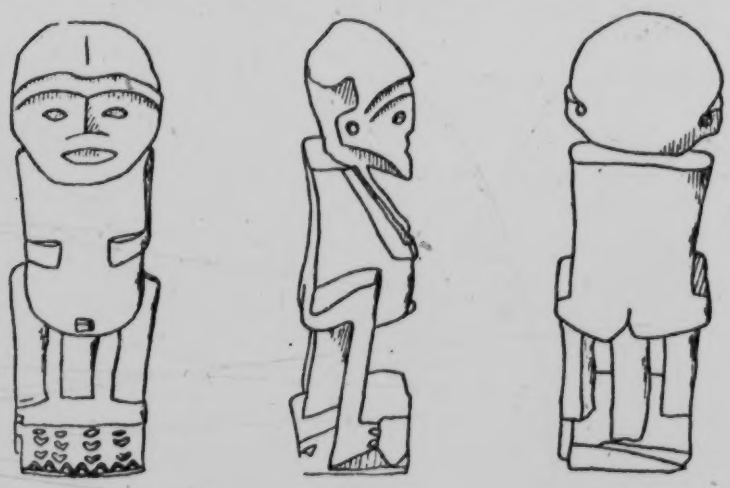

FIG. 10.

Aitutaki Image, British Museum (L.M.S. collection).

Height, 525 mm.; shoulder-width, 155 mm. Head with extra line above eyebrow-line which extends to sides; eyes and mouth formed by elliptical excisions; nose formed by meeting of two cheek-planes in an edge which is bounded below by a transverse incision; ears poorly formed but perforated. Square shoulders with straight edge across back; upper arms inclined forward and not free of body; forearms flexed with fingerless hands resting on abdomen. Projecting abdomen with protruding navel formed by square knob; gluteal region not projecting. Thighs acutely flexed and feet merged in solid base with notches in sides to represent toes. Vertical rounded support between body and base; base carved in front. No sex-organ included.

The Rarotongan images vary from single to multiple figures and are in various sizes. The form more nearly

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comparable in size with the Tongan images is the type described as a fisherman's god. See fig. 11.

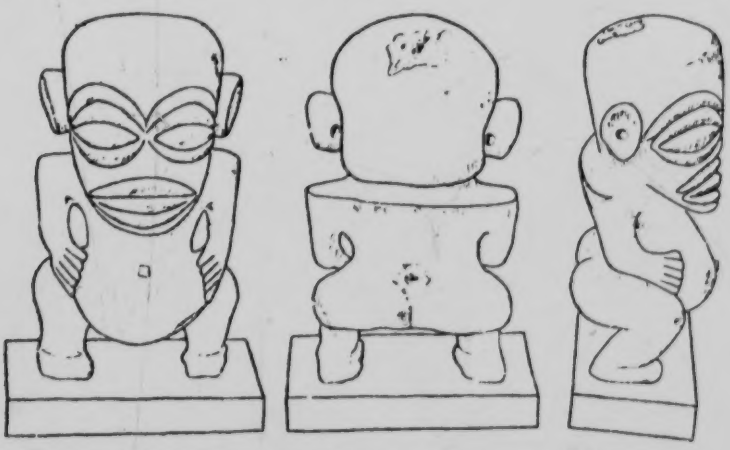

FIG. 11.

Rarotongan Image, British Museum (L.M.S. collection).

Height, 440 mm.; shoulder-width, 240 mm. Large well-shaped head with elaborated large eyes and mouth, no nose, and large prominent ears pierced posteriorily. Square shoulders with straight edge across back; upper arm free, and flexed forearm and five-fingered hand resting on abdomen. Projecting abdomen with protruding navel formed by square knob; well-formed gluteal region. Thighs and lower limbs flexed and feet formed by shapeless blocks. Male-organ amputated. Pedestal in drawing does not belong to image.

The Rarotongan image shows an elaborate technique with regard to the eyes which have elements representing the eyeball, upper and lower lids, and eyebrows, whilst the mouth also shows a similar elaboration in the presence of tongue and upper and lower lip-elements. In contrast to this elaboration is the absence of a defined nose. The whole figure is short and squat and conveys an idea of virility that is absent in the Aitutaki image. Though the figures from the two islands are so different, they yet share the general technique of the straight edge across the back at the shoulder-level, the flexed forearm resting on the abdomen, the protruding abdomen and navel, and the pierced ears.

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IMAGE FROM THE AUSTRAL ISLANDS.

The large wooden image from Rurutu, with hollow back and a number of smaller figures distributed over it, has been described by both Williams[13] and Ellis.[14] A stone

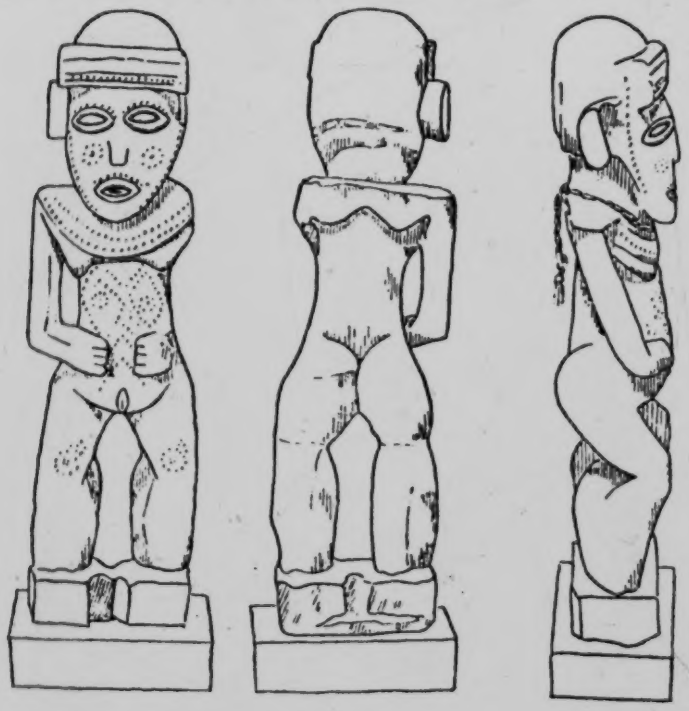

FIG. 12.

Raivavae Image, British Museum (54/12-29/120).

Height, 620 mm.; shoulder-width, 153 mm. High head with projecting horizontal band above forehead; large projecting solid ear, one broken off; elliptical eye-sockets with raised eyeballs, small nose, and elliptical mouth. Square shoulders with straight edge across back and triangular projections below probably representing shoulder blades; upper arms free of body but one broken off; forearms flexed with hands resting on abdomen. Upper chest with curved projection and triangular breasts below. Abdomen slightly protruding, no navel, incised female sex-organ, and gluteal region not excessively developed. Thighs flexed and abnormally large lower limbs fused with base directly. Incised carving patterns on face, body, and legs.

[13]Williams, *Opt. cit.*

[14]Ellis, W., *Polynesian Researches*, 2 vols., London, 1829; vol. 2, frontispiece and p. 220.

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image with upraised arms, attributed to Raivavae, rests in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford. A third image in wood and of suitable size for comparative purposes was presented to the British Museum by Sir George Grey in 1854. It is attributed to High island (Raivavae) and is shown in fig. 12.

The Raivavae image shows elaboration in the use of raised parts on the forehead, back, and chest, and of simple ornamental patterns of small incised triangles. The use of the small-triangle motive is part of a local technique employed extensively in the carving of the characteristic paddles from this region. The head-form and the dependent triangular breasts are also characteristic of the female figures on the proximal ends of these paddles. Disregarding such local elaborations, it is seen that Raivavae resembles Tahiti and the Cook islands in the use of the straight edge across the back at the shoulder-level, the flexed forearm resting on the abdomen, and the protruding abdomen. It differs from the other two regions in the absence of the navel.

SUMMARY OF CENTRAL-POLYNESIAN TECHNIQUE.

A comparison of the selected images from the islands of the Society, Cook, and Austral islands, in which small wooden images were made, shows that considerable local variation had developed with regard to the shape of the head and details in the formation of the eyes, nose, mouth, and ears. Variation also extended to other anatomical parts. In spite of local elaborations, a general posture-pattern was shared by the three groups. Apart from the upright head and body, posture is determined by the position of the lower and upper limbs. The lower limbs are flexed in the three regions but this attitude is widely spread throughout Polynesia and exists in the images from western Polynesia. In the three regions, the upper limbs are flexed with the hands resting on a projecting abdomen to which a protruding navel is added except in Raivavae. A constant technical feature in the three regions is the presence of the straight edge across the back at the shoulder-level. It is the posture-pattern as influenced by the position of the upper limbs that constitutes an important difference with the posture-pattern of the Tongan images. The protruding abdomen and navel and the straight edge across the back are also absent from the Tongan images.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9

DIAGNOSTIC IMPORTANCE OF POSTURE PATTERNS.

A puzzling image in the British Museum brings up the importance of establishing patterns of technique and general posture in the images from different regions not only to shed light on local culture-variation but for the purpose of diagnozing the locality of doubtful objects. The doubtful image which puzzled me so much that I forgot to take measurements and to photograph the back view, is shown in fig. 13.

The museum number indicated that the locality of the image was Tahiti, but the museum authorities could not vouch for its reliability. The textile-material of the cap was formed of coconut-husk fibre warps radiating out from a central point and fixed in position with single fibre wefts worked with a continuous single-pair twine to the circumference. The shell-beads were slipped on over the warps at regular intervals. The neck and waist-strips were made with a similar single-pair twine technique but the warps were parallel instead of radiating. Both the technique and the resulting material were characteristic of Tonga and I do not know of any other part of Polynesia where a similar specialized technique was used. The textile technique associated with the image thus indicated Tonga as a locality to be considered. The image, however, did not conform to the technique of the established Tongan images.

As regards the image itself, the presence of flexed forearms with the hands resting on the body, the protruding abdomen and navel, and the straight edge across the back, indicated that it conformed to the central-Polynesian pattern and not to that of western Polynesia. The forearms by their acute flexion raised the hands to the level of the chest instead of the usual abdominal site but this slight change was but a variation of the usual pose.

Of the various islands of central Polynesia, Rarotonga was eliminated by the absence of the squat form and the specialized eyes and mouth, whilst Raivavae was also eliminated by difference in general form, the lack of the specialized triangular breasts, and the absence of the triangular carving-motive as ornamentation. Between Tahiti and Aitutaki, the eye-technique favoured Tahiti but the adherence of the upper arm to the body, the acute

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FIG. 13.

Image of Doubtful Locality, British Museum (Tah. 63).

Wood, stained with dark colour. Eye-socket large and somewhat rounded with elliptical raised eyeball; nose, narrow-tipped; mouth, elliptical excision; ear, projecting, pierced, and with attached ornament. Square shoulders with straight edge across back; upper arm not free of body; forearms acutely flexed with five-fingered hands resting on chest. Breasts round and pointed; prominent abdomen and protruding navel represented by rectangular knob; female sex-organ present; gluteal region not prominent. Thighs well flexed and solid feet. Cap formed of sennit twined-work, with radiating warps and shell-beads; nailed to head with small metal tacks. Strips of twined textile around neck with fish-bone suspended in front as ornament. Textile strip also wrapped around waist as *maro*, which conceals sex-organ. Neck and waist-strips with shell-beads, and also tacked in position.

flexion of the thighs, and the pierced ears, formed a complex that showed a greater affinity with the somewhat crude image from Aitutaki depicted in fig. 10.

A glance at fig. 13 shows that the circular piece of material on the head of the image looks remarkably like

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

the round lace-caps worn at one time by old ladies of European stock. If the missionaries' wives wore such caps,* the model for the head-gear of the goddess is found. Someone in central Polynesia, possessed of some Tongan material and a sense of humour, simply tacked a piece of the Tongan circular textile on to the head of a rejected Aitutaki image. The neck- and waist-additions followed as a matter of course, and so a puzzling composite object was produced.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

This paper forms an introduction to the study of the numerous inanimate representatives of the Polynesian gods which escaped destruction and found refuge in various museums. Of these sanctuaries, the British Museum houses an enviable number. I have to thank Captain T. A. Joyce and his staff in the Ethnographical Department of the British Museum for facilitating in every possible way my examination of the rich material in that wonderful but woefully overcrowded institution. My thanks are also due to Captain A. W. F. Fuller and Mr. Oldman for access to their private collections and for drawing my attention to the Tongan images. The line drawings in this paper were prepared from photographs taken with a Leica camera by myself and thrown on to the drawing paper with a Leica enlarger. The enlarging apparatus and the employment of Mr. R. W. Foster of Yale University to make the drawings are due to the courtesy of the American Research Council in awarding me a Grant-in-Aid for the study of the material culture of central Polynesia.

CONCLUSIONS.

Wooden images, though not common in western Polynesia, were made at Haapai in the Tongan group and the solitary specimen from Samoa was probably due to Tongan

*In the early years of the eighteen hundreds, say the 'twenties and 'thirties, the caps worn covered the head, and the sides were continued in broad bands more or less long coming from behind the ears over the shoulders and down the breasts. See portraits of missionaries' wives in W. Morley, *History of Methodism in New Zealand;* Mrs. W. White, p. 43; Mrs. N. Turner, p. 43; Mrs. J. Hobbs, p. 52; Mrs. C. Creed, p. 75; Mrs. T. Buddle, p. 76. In the 'seventies and 'eighties some caps at any rate were quite small things sitting on the top of the head only, and with no pendent ornaments.—Ed.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

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influence. Small figures were also made from whale-ivory of the same pattern as the wooden images and were probably from the same locality. The figures are fairly realistic and in the characteristic posture of all the specimens, the arms hang free of the body in a downward-extended position with the thumbs to the front. The figures, with one possible exception, are all female with the sex indicated by the large prominent breasts while the sex-organ is ignored. Other technical details consist of the rounding off from the neck to the back, the presence of a specialized tragus in the ear of the wooden images, a flat abdomen with no navel, and an exaggerated back-projection of the gluteal region. The posture and the points enumerated form a western-Polynesian pattern.

Wooden images, more conventional in form and of both sexes, were common in central Polynesia. In the characteristic posture, the upper arm is usually free of the body and the flexed forearms and hands rest on the abdomen. Even in female figures, the chest is flat with the breasts represented by nipples and the sex denoted by the presence of the sex-organ. Other technical details consist of a straight edge across the back to define its upper border, the absence of a specialized tragus and enlarged breasts, a projecting abdomen, and a protruding navel. The gluteal region, while well formed, is not exaggerated to the same extent as in the western pattern.

The central posture-pattern, with flexed forearms resting on the abdomen, was used in southern, eastern, and northern Polynesia, but it has not been reported from western Polynesia. The use of distinctive patterns adds another item to the growing list of differences between western Polynesia and the rest of the Polynesian area.

Though the central posture-pattern was widely spread, it was not the only pattern used in the regions where it was utilized. A good deal of variation existed. In western Polynesia, the carving technique of images seems to have been confined definitely to the one pattern, which again appears to have been employed only in a part of the Tongan group. This indicates a lack of carving-initiative in western Polynesia and offers a marked contrast to the diversified development of the art of carving in the rest of Polynesia.

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

ADDITIONAL WOODEN IMAGES FROM TONGA

By Te Rangi Hiroa,
Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii.

IN a previous paper,[1] describing wooden and whale-ivory images from Tonga, reference was made to two wooden images in the private collection of Mr. W. O. Oldman of London. After the paper appeared, Mr. Oldman sent me photographs and details of the two images mentioned and of a third unique image that had come into his possession after I saw the other two in 1933. Just as this paper was being written, Mr. Oldman sent me a further photograph, of a whale-ivory image that is also in his collection. Mr. Oldman has kindly given me permission to reproduce the four additional images and so make the series of Tongan images up to date for the information of students of Polynesian culture.

Two of the wooden images and the ivory one are in the erect position with pendent arms, but the third wooden image shows a unique departure in being carved in the sitting position. The taller of the erect images is shown in fig. 1.

The resemblance of fig. 1 to the figure in Williams' work[2] is so great that they seem to represent the same image. The presence of the cord around the neck in both figures gives further support, but all doubt as to identity is dispelled by the written inscription on the back which reads as follows: "Goddess of Lifuga hung by Tafahau on embracing Christianity. Hapai, July 1830."

Lifuga (Lifuka) is the principal island in the Haapai group where in 1830 John Williams met Tafaahau who later became George Tubou I of Tonga. It was on that occasion that Tafaahau[3] cut down one of the five goddesses suspended by their necks from the roof of a house and

[1] Te Rangi Hiroa, "Material Representation of Tongan and Samoan Gods"; *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 44, p. 12, 1935.

[2] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 274 (also *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 44, p. 10).

[3] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 275.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 76]

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

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FIG. 1.

TONGAN WOODEN IMAGE

Oldman collection, number 530. Height, 14.5ins.; shoulder width, 4.75ins. Head-vertex rounded; face markedly flat and meeting the sloping planes above forehead and on either side of face in distinct edges which meet below in pointed chin. Eyes poorly represented by horizontal slits; nose long, clearly defined, and projecting out from flat face surface; mouth formed by horizontal slit similar to eyes; ears formed by projecting chevron flange open to the front. Practically no neck; shoulders slope downward and outward to meet outer line of upper-arm in obtuse point; smooth slope from neck to back. Arms straight and pendent, ending in pointed hands without defined fingers but evidently in natural position of thumbs to front.

Breasts large, long, pointed, and projecting forward and downward. Body slim with back and sides meeting in well-marked edge on posterior axillary line but sides and front rounded off. Abdomen not protruding, no navel, and horizontal edge defining upper line of a raised pubic triangle, base upward, which may represent female sex-organ.

Gluteal region projects backward to an exaggerated degree with upper and lower planes meeting in a marked mesial horizontal edge. Thighs long, legs short with marked backward projection of calves similar to gluteal region. Feet rotted in front; heels project backward.

The feet and base were originally in the same block of wood but when acquired by Mr. Oldman both feet and base were so worm-eaten that a new base had to be made. A length of sennit braid is tied around the neck and a paper inscription in ink is pasted on the back.

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 gave it to Williams. It is probable that the inscription on
798 the back of the image figured was written by John Williams
532 himself.

The second erect figure is shorter than the one described
532 but is much wider across the shoulders. The top of the head is somewhat flattened from side to side, but in other details it corresponds closely to fig. 1. See fig. 2.

FIG. 2.

TONGAN WOODEN IMAGE

Oldman collection, number 531. Height, 13ins.; shoulder width, 6.25ins. As compared with fig. 1, the flat vertex of the head, the wider and squarer shoulders, and shorter thighs are noticeable variations. The flat face, pointed chin, eyes, mouth, nose, and ears are similar and so are the short neck, pointed shoulders, pendent arms, prominent pointed breasts, slim body with posterior axillary edge, flat abdomen, and projecting gluteal region and calves with horizontal mesial edges. Some slight pitting occurs in the wood in the umbilical region; it does not appear to be a purposive attempt to define the navel-depression.

The raised pubic triangle present in fig. 1 is absent. The lower outer edge of the hand-terminal is notched with four incisions to represent five fingers with the thumb to the front. The feet are represented by low flat pieces projecting at the outer sides as well as the back; the right foot is notched in four places on the front which extend the depth of the shallow front surface while the left has four slight notches on the upper edge of the front surface; each foot is thus represented with five toes. The figure and pedestal are cut out of one piece of wood.

The Fuller image and the ivory figures in the British Museum previously described were much more realistic than the two Oldman images, and but for Mr. Oldman's kindness in making further information available an erroneous standard for Tongan art would have been created. It will

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

be seen in the carving treatment of figs. 1 and 2, that though certain features of the more realistic images are present, the treatment of the eyes, mouth, ears, shoulders, and hands have been highly conventionalized. The well-formed ears of the Fuller image and the largest ivory image in the British Museum are here represented by chevron projections carved with exactly the same technique as the suspensory lugs in Tongan and Samoan kava-bowls. 532

Mr. Oldman writes that the remarkable small figure in a sitting position came from a very old collection of Mr. O. Belsham which was acquired about 1846. It is carved from a dense, hard, dark-brown wood, and the features and limbs show deliberate mutilation, the face showing distinct cuts made with a knife or an axe. See fig. 3.

FIG. 3.

TONGAN WOODEN IMAGE

Oldman collection, number 532. Height, 7.5ins. *a*, front: head and face with pointed chin of general shape of figs. 1 and 2 but probably face not so flat; both arms cut off but probably both were pendent as there is no trace of hands being connected with the body; left lower limb well flexed, with knee rotated inward and curve of thigh and leg show artistic execution; right leg cut off through thigh and stump indicates right lower leg was flexed below left leg with foot to left. *b*, back: head outline and short neck show similarity to figs. 1 and 2; slim body, graceful waist, and well-rounded buttocks. *c*, right side: head in profile with similar lines to fig. 2; nose apparently cut off; ear as raised flange with curve instead of chevron angle; breasts apparently cut off; curve of buttocks plainly shows sitting-posture with left thigh higher than right and section of right thigh and legs indicate that right leg was probably beneath left as suggested by front view *(a)*.

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

The original label that went with the sitting image reads as follows: "Household Goddess of the Emperor of Tonga and part of the dress worn by him when he worshipped the Devil." The label confirms the locality of the image, and, as Tafaahau became the ruler of Tonga, the image evidently formed one of the group that Tafaahau abandoned in 1830. It is the only image that I know of that has been carved in a sitting position and is hence unique. In spite of the mutilation, the lines of the body and the thighs show good workmanship.

The ivory image is thus described by Mr. Oldman in his letter: "Very old and much worn with handling, stained a deep orange-yellow of beautiful tone and with symmetrical deeper coloured markings on front of body and lower legs and on posterior. Arm has been fractured. I consider it one of the finest little gems I possess." A line drawing of the print is shown in fig. 4.

The Oldman ivory image, while typically Tongan, is not quite so realistic in treatment as the largest ivory image in the British Museum or the Fuller wooden image. From the treatment of the eyes and the comparatively wide width of the shoulders, it stands between these more realistic images and the more conventionalized types in the Oldman collection shown in figs. 1 and 2.

The dress worn by Tafaahau when he took part in the religious service of his own culture, rather snobbishly described as "worshipping the devil," consisted of bark cloth, and from its narrow width it was evidently a sash or a perineal band *(malo)*. As specimens of cloth of authentic early manufacture should be regarded as type specimens for future study, a drawing made from Mr. Oldman's photograph is shown in fig. 5, *a*.

Mr. Oldman included in his pictures, two clubs with projecting bosses on the expanded heads of the clubs. These bosses are shaped in a form similar to the flat faces with pointed chins of the Tongan images, and they have elongated triangular projections which correspond in position and shape to the noses of the images. Though eyes and mouth are not represented, I agree with Mr. Oldman in his opinion that this conventionalized motive has been derived from the faces of the Tongan images. It is probable, therefore,

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27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

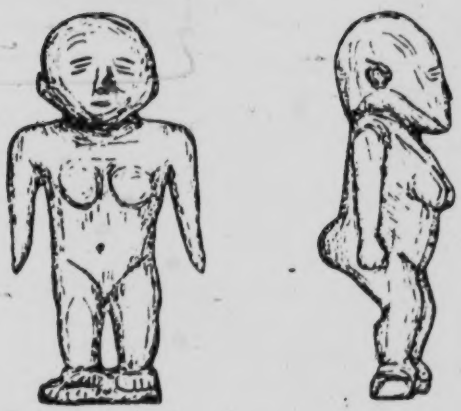

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FIG. 4.

TONGAN IVORY IMAGE

Oldman collection, number 533. Height, 5ins. (217mm.); shoulder width, 2¼ins. (57mm.). Head-vertex rounded; face rounding off to sides; eyes have brow and lower lid curves but eyes themselves represented by straight incised lines slanting slightly downward and outward; nose long, wide, and rather low in forward projection, flawed on left side of point; mouth straight, horizontal incision wider in middle; chin rounded; ears formed by raised circular flange with front notched to represent tragus. Neck extremely short. Shoulders wide with straight horizontal upper line but outer points rounded off. Arms straight and pendent with hands wider than wrist, pointed, with incised lines to define fingers, thumbs to front.

Breasts large and rounded; abdomen natural curve with circular depressed navel. Gluteal region exaggerated. Thighs slightly flexed; lower leg normal proportion without exaggerated calves; feet notched to represent toes. Low pedestal in one piece with image, projecting on right but not at back.

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

type-specimens have been definitely established by authentic history or the careful analysis of the technique by an expert, such type-specimens can be used to determine the locality of other specimens of a similar appearance but concerning which the history and attributed locality are uncertain. There is as much scientific need for specimens in ethnological museums to be accurately labelled as to locality as there is in museums of natural history.

So far I have described nine specimens of Tongan images, four in wood and five in whale-ivory. The four whale-ivory images already described[4] are in the British Museum (Tah. 133, Tah. 134, Tah. 135, and 2323). Their history beyond their actual acquisition by the Museum is unknown. From the catalogue numbers commencing with Tah., it is evident that three of them were attributed to Tahiti, but owing to lack of information the British Museum authorities would not vouch for this locality. The attribution of the images to Tonga rests on the detailed resemblance of the largest of them (Tah. 133) to a wooden image in the A. W. F. Fuller collection (no. 791), which also has been described.[5] The diagnosis was first made by Captain Fuller himself, and my examination supports his diagnosis. The attribution of Captain Fuller's specimen (no. 791) was based by him on its resemblance to the specimen in Mr. Oldman's collection (no. 530) and the opinions of both Mr. Oldman and Captain Fuller that the Oldman specimen was identical with the image figured by Williams.[6] The piece of braid around the neck and the inscription pasted on the back of the image, establish their identity without any doubt to my mind. Here we have a specimen whose history and locality are sufficiently proved to establish it as the type-specimen. From the type-specimen, number 530 in the Oldman collection, the locality of Tonga given to the other erect image in the Oldman collection (no. 531), the wooden image in the Fuller collection (no. 791), and the Oldman ivory image (no. 533), can be definitely accepted. The Fuller image varies in certain details as to eyes, ears, and the rounding of the shoulders, being more realistic

[4] Te Rangi Hiroa, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14.

[5] Te Rangi Hiroa, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[6] John Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

532 127 than the Oldman type. The Fuller image may be regarded as a variation and by it the largest whale-ivory image in the British Museum (Tah. 133) may be definitely assigned to Tonga and not to Tahiti as its number would infer. From this specimen, the other three variations of whale-ivory images in the British Museum may also be attributed to Tonga. The localities of seven images with indefinite histories have thus been determined, primarily from the Oldman type specimen (530) of which the history and locality may be accepted as proved.

The history of the sitting image, while not so connected as that of the standing type, is supported by the specimen of bark cloth, the description written in missionary phraseology, and certain structural details. No doubt can be entertained as to the locality being Tonga and the specimen may be regarded not only as a type but also as a unique.

532 As a record, the nine Tongan images so far known are given in the following table with their height and shoulder width in inches:

Collection	Material	Height inches	Shoulder width inches
W. O. Oldman, 530	wood	14.5	4.75
W. O. Oldman, 531	wood	13.0	6.25
A. W. F. Fuller, 791	wood	14.6	5.55
W. O. Oldman, 532	wood (sitting)	7.5	—
W. O. Oldman, 533	ivory	5.0	2.37
British Museum, Tah. 133	ivory	4.75	1.85
British Museum, Tah. 135	ivory	1.4	0.75
British Museum, Tah. 134	ivory	1.35	0.7
British Museum, 2323	ivory	2.2	0.8

If the four wooden images so far described formed part of the collection of five seen by John Williams,[1] it is intriguing to speculate as to whether or not the one remaining specimen also found its way into the safe haven of a collection. If anyone recognizes it from the illustrations in this paper, I would be obliged if the owner or discoverer would inform me.

[1] John Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

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Carved figures of whale tooth ivory (which was highly valued in Tonga, as in other parts of Polynesia) were characteristic only of the Ha'apai group in Tonga. This ivory figure (actual size 5¼ inches) was probably worn by a chief as a single neck pendant or as part of an assemblage of figures on a necklace, for there is a suspension hole at the back of its neck. (Photo: Courtesy of The Museum of Primitive Art, New York)

Neongo na'e mahu'inga 'i Polinisia kotoa e ngaahi 'imisi na'e tongi mei he nifo'i tofua'a, ko Ha'apai pe 'i Tonga na'e fai ai e fa'ahinga ngaue ni. Ko e 'imisi ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta ni ('inisi 'e 5½) mahalo na'e 'ai 'aki ha kahoa 'o ha 'eiki 'i ono'aho.

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39: Cerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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532 The art which developed on Tonga was the art of a nation of seafarers[1]—the art of an element of the human race which possessed a delicate balance with nature. Characterized by formality, order and a close conformity to natural laws, the art of Tongans became a highly complex expression of their view of the world.

It becomes obvious when viewing Tongan art works and their systematic form, that the artists were mainly intent on portraying power, stability, strength and order—reflective of the stratified Tongan society. Color was seldom used, and ornamentation was kept to a minimum. The art, however, in its simplicity, should not be underestimated, for Tongan workmanship was graceful, refined and aesthetically beautiful. Needless to say, it is most unfair to attempt to judge

[p.9-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

532 Tongan art by western or contemporary standards, as has so often been done; it should rather be viewed in terms of the complex social and cultural matrix from which it sprang.

Wood being the main medium used long ago, wood craftsmanship and carving in the form of canoes, houses, war clubs, spears, paddles, kava bowls, statues and wooden "headrest" pillows became a polished art in the Tongan society, performed only by highly specialized artisans called *tufunga,* whose skills were most often transmitted by heredity. As religion was a major facet of life, the Tongans had a god as a patron for each category of artistic activity. Thus, art reflected their system of religious beliefs, values and rituals, as well as their extremely structured socio-political organization.

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The traditional Tongan house, similar to that of

[p. 9-C]

342 nearby Samoa, was an oval structure with roof
283 thatching made from sugar cane leaves or coconut
284 fronds, and with exquisite sennit lashing on the inside rafters. Tongan clubs were characterized by
411 skillfully-incised, geometric surface patterns, at
531 times by inlaid pieces of pearl shell or whale's tooth,
237 and occasionally by designs depicting animals (zoomorphs) or humans (anthropomorphs); these decorations were sometimes applied over a period of time, certain bits of ornamentation being added in commemoration of a particular battle victory.[A2]
532 Carved statues, which were used to a minor degree as representations of deities, were usually wooden and female, with a rounded, stout body and an oversized head. The few, excellent ivory statue carvings from Ha'apai preserved today in museums are considered to be among the finest creative art pieces in the history of the Pacific.[B3]

[p. 10-A]

A [See category 411, pp. 9A, 10B and 11--Analyst]

B [See category 532, p. 8--Analyst]

39: Gerstic & Raitt C.Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
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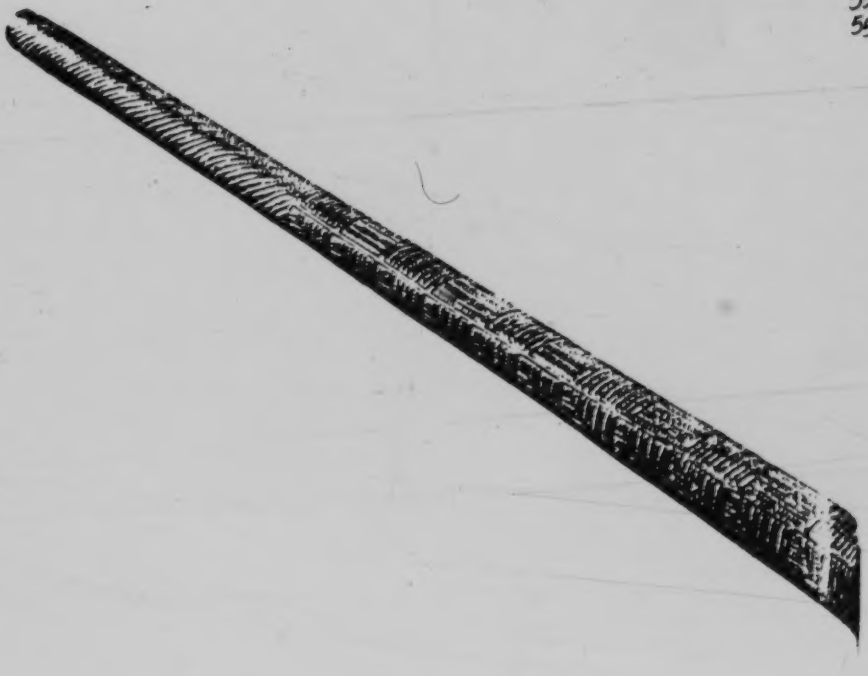

[See continuation on p 11]

[p 10-B]

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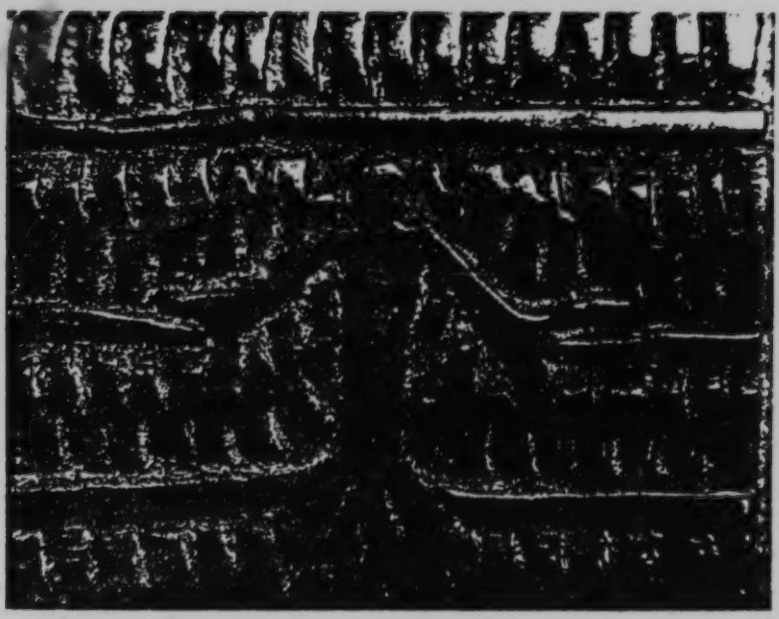

Early Tongan warriors sometimes gave names to their war clubs. The heavy, four foot long club at left is a carved replacement for the actual one, named *Mohekonokono* ("Bitter Sleep") which was owned by the chief Vaha'i from the village of Fo'ui (western Tongatapu) and was broken during Tonga's civil war (1799-1852). The photo above shows a close-up of another exquisitely carved war club. Both are preserved today at Tupou College Museum.

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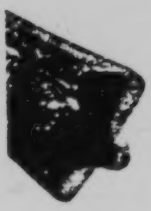
Na'e ta a fakahingoa e ngaahi povai 'a e kau tau Tonga 'o ono'aho. 'Oku 'asi 'i he ta 'i to'ohema na tatau 'o e povai ko Mohekonokono 'a ia na'e ngaue'aki 'e he to'a ko Vaha'i mei Fo'ui. Na'e motu foki e povai ko ia lolotonga e tau fakalotofonua mei he 1799 ki he 1852. Ko e fa'ahinga povai e 'e taha 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i 'olunga 'a ia kuo 'osi hono tongi teuteu faka'ofo'ofa. 'Oku tauhi e ongo povai ni 'i he Misiume 'a Toloa.



[for remainder of club at left see p. 10-B]

538 In addition, Tongan art included oral traditions, for a vital part of the early Tongan educational system was the careful memorization and oral transmission of legends and lineages. In fact, just as important as the techniques and skills that each master craftsman passed on to his successor were the prayers, myths and geneologies which had to be imparted as well.

537 As oratory has long been an art, it is significant to note that Tongans have always been eloquent
[726] people. Skilled orators were necessary for inspiring people to perform community projects and, in time of war, for exciting the zeal of warriors[4]—such as the way that the dauntless leader, Finau 'Ulukalala II, roused his soldiers' enthusiasm when he said forcefully in a speech at Vava'u: "Be brave in battle; fear not death. It is better to die fighting in the field than to live to be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lingering illness."[5]

304 Tattooing became popular for a time in Tonga,
[177] most probably as a result of frequent contacts with Samoa (where the highly-perfected art of tattooing
[237] is still practiced today). According to Mariner in the early 1800's, Tongan men were elaborately tattooed from waist to knees by use of a small-tooth comb made from the wild duck's wing-bone, which was dipped in a mixture of soot and water and then tapped with a green branch to puncture the skin. The esteem with which tattooing was held was no doubt because of the intense pain which had to be borne in order for the intricate designs to be permanently imprinted on the skin. Mariner remarked: "It is considered very unmanly not to be tattowed, so that there is nobody but what submits to it as soon as he is grown up."[6] Women also, as Captain Cook had observed some years earlier, were tattooed in smaller, less extensive patterns on the
[791] arms, hands and fingers. Largely due to the
[178] missionaries' strong opposition to it as an evil and unhealthy practice, tattooing died out in Tonga sometime later in the 1800's.

532 The coming of the westerners generally had a
177 detrimental effect upon art in Tonga. Many valuable artifacts were destroyed because they were seen as

[p. 13-A]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14A]

532 177 evidence of idolatry and heathenism. Whereas wood carving had been done previously with adzes or tools made of shell or tooth, local artisans became attracted to the more highly perfected metal instruments of the foreigners. Strongly influenced by materialism and other characteristics of western civilization, the Tongans abandoned the majority of their former artistic activities, and consequently, the [462 287 285] entire realm of Tongan art has suffered. For the most part, only the arts of women (e.g. tapa making, basket and mat weaving) have survived up to the present day in Tonga.[7]

341 342 177 283 284 411 501 177 Tongan architecture has obviously been influenced by contact with the west; rafter lashing with hand-braided sennit is rarely to be seen any more, and it is not uncommon to find Tongan houses today with corrugated iron roofs. Hand-carved war clubs and other weapons, as well as the skillfully-designed double canoes, have been

[p.16-A]

592
Ger
Tonga

The traditional gods were renounced in Tonga as Christianity spread. Carved recently by a chief in Ha'ano, this wooden image of a goddess was modeled after a statue sketch in the journal of the missionary Williams who, in 1830, witnessed a desecrating hanging scene of five such images.

'I he mafola 'a e Lotu Kalisitiane 'i Tonga, na'e tafoki leva e kakai tokolahi mei honau ngaahi 'otua motu'a. Ko e ta eni 'o ha 'otua fefine 'aia ko e 'imisi 'o ha ta fakatata na'e ha 'i he tohi 'a e tangata faifekau ko Williams. Na'e mamata 'a e tangata ni 'i hano tautau 'o ha ngaahi 'imisi pehe ni 'e nima 'i he 1830.

[A-49-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

122 Having now some leasure time before me, a party of us accom-
Thur. 26 paned by Fattafee the King, set out early the next Morning in a boat for [Moa] the Village where the King and other great men usually
226 reside.[1] As we went up the Inlet we met with the Prince with fourteen Canoes fishing; in each canoe was a triangler net extended between two poles, at the lower angle was a Cod to receive and secure the fish, they had already caught some fine Mullet, and put about a dozen into my boat. I desired to see their method of fishing, this they readily complied with, a Shoal of fish was supposed to be on one of the banks which they in a instant inclosed in a long net like a Seine or set net, this the fishers surrounded with the triangler nets in their hands with which they scooped the fish out of the other, or caught them as they attempted to leap over it. They shewed us the method by throwing in some of the fish they had before caught, for at this time there was none to inclose in the net so that we could not see the certainty of the method, but it appeared to be a very sure method.
648 Leaving the Prince and his fishery we proceeded and soon arrived at
643 the Village. As soon as we landed the King desired Omai to tell me that I need be under no apprehensions for the boat or any thing in her, for not a single thing would be touched by any one whatever and so it proved. We were immediately conducted to one of his houses not far from the one we had been at before, but this tho pretty large, seemed to be a private one and was situated within a plantation. The King took his seat at one end of the house and the people, who came to visit him, sat down as they entered in a simicircle at the other. The first thing done was to make a bowl of Cava and order some yams to be baked for us, while these were cooking Omai and I accompaned by one of the Kings servants Walked out to view
764 the place. The only thing we met with worth mentioning was a
532 larg[e] Affi-a-too-ca[2] or burying ground belonging to the King, a Wall of stone inclosed three seperate Mounts and on each of these Mounts stood a house, under which as we were told, the dead are buried, but there was nothing of this sort to be seen; the floors of these houses were covered with loose fine pebbles and like wise the

[361] [644] [241] [164] [1] Mu'a, anciently Lapaha. *Mu'a* means 'first': it was the first, the capital, village, and the seat of Tongan government for six centuries. The three really great men who resided there were the Tu'i Tonga, in the area called Lapaha; the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua in that, much smaller, called Moalunga; and the Tu'i Kanokupolu, in that, larger again, called Tatakamotonga. The Tu'i Tonga had his great *mala'e* there, and there were the *langi* or royal tombs; as also the burial places of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, but not of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. McKern has a full description in his *Tongan Archaeology*, pp. 92–101, with an interesting plan, p. 95.—The name, in square brackets, in the text has been supplied by Douglas in a large space left for it by Cook, and is supplied similarly below as M[oa] and [Moos].

[2] *fa'itoka.*

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

tops of the Mounts round the houses, there were a few rude Images of the human figure, of different ages. We were told they were there as monuments to the Memory of the dead and not the representation of any Deity.[1] Such monuments they seldom raise for these seemed to be very old. In one of the house[s] was the Carved head of an Otaheite Canoe which had been driven a shore on their coast and deposited here. After dinner, or rather after we had refreshed our selves on what we carried with us, some of us took a Walk into the Country making a pretty large circuit attended by one of the Kings Ministers,[2] our train was not great as he would not suffer the rabble to follow us, he also obliged all those whom we met to sit down till we pass'd a respect due only to their Kings. We found by far the greatest part of the Country cultivated and planted with one kind of production or a nother and the most of these plantations were fenced round. Some old Plantations lay uncultivated or in fallow, and there were places that had never been touched but lay in a state of Nature but even these places were usefull in affording them timber &c[a] with which they were generally covered. We met with several large uninhabited house[s] which we were told belonged to the King or the Lord of the Manor;[3] there were many publick and well beaten roads and as many foot paths leading to every part of the island. The roads were good and the Country level consequently traveling was easy. On the most elevated parts, we met with coral rock close to the surface, perforated and cut into all those inequalities we see them in the wash of the sea, yet these very rocks with hardly any soil upon them were covered with a luxuriant vegetation. We were conducted to several little pools and some springs of Water, but the most of them were either stinking or brackish tho recommended as excellent.[4] The

[1] These three mounts seem to have been the great *langi*, called Tuoteau, Katoa and Tuofefafa, with a smaller fourth one in front, unnoticed by Cook, called Tauatonga. Cook does not mention stone-work, apart from the wall, so the stone of the *langi* may have been heaped over with earth. These lay to the north of the eastern side of the great *mala'e*, and in front of them was a smaller *mala'e*. Within them were the stone vaults or burial chambers. The houses, *falefolia*, were set up to protect the central part of the covering of fine black volcanic pebbles, called *kilitili*, which marked a vault. The information about the 'rude Images' being 'monuments' or commemorative figures was probably correctly gathered: cf. II, p. 251. The Tongans did not carve representations of their gods.

[2] No doubt a *matapule*, one of the non-chiefly but important officials on whom administration so much depended, attendant on a chief and sometimes his spokesman.

[3] By 'Lord of the Manor' Cook presumably means an '*eiki*, a great chief or 'noble', whose power, under that of the Tu'i Tonga, was territorial, as well as extending to the persons of the common people.

[4] Williamson, 20 June, provides a dissenting opinion: '. . . I have great reason to think that fresh water might be had by sinking a well at some distance from the lagoon, & am the more confirmed in this opinion from the many wells of delightful water, which we met with during our prerigrinations, some not less than thirty feet deep, & made extremely neat & clean.'

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

furnish'd, and wading up to the middle within the seine directed it slowly under water where they saw any fish, and rais'd it up pretty quickly, bringing the fish when the[y] caught any in it. We got a few mullet from them & then row'd to the bottom of the bay where we landed on going to see Mareewagge, from whence we proceeded to Poulahos house which was but a little way off. Almost close by it we found a Fya'tocka or burying place much more extensive and seemingly of more consequence than any we had seen at the other islands. It consisted of three pretty large houses situated on a rising ground or rather just by the brink of it, with a small one at some distance, all rangd longitudinally. The middle house of the three first was by much the largest, and plac'd in a square 24 paces by twenty eight raisd about three feet high, with the surface coverd with shingle stones and the whole bounded by large flat stones of hard coral rock, properly hewn, plac'd on their edges, one of which measur'd twelve feet in length, two in breadth and above one in thickness. The others were placd on little mounts rais'd artificially to the same height and coverd with gravel, one of the huts, contrary to what we had seen before, being open on one side which we enterd & found coverd with shingle, with two rude wooden busts of men, one at the entrance the other farther in, the last of which from its appearance had been there perhaps several ages. On calling to some of the natives who had follow'd us to the ground but durst not enter here, to enquire what they were intended for, they made us as sensible as we could wish that they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there.[1] A[t] the foot of the rising ground there is a large area or plat of grass with different trees about it, amongst which are several of those call'd Etóá very large, which resemble the Cypress & have a fine effect in such a place. There is also a row of low palms near one of the houses & behind them is a ditch in which was a vast number of old baskets.

We travers'd the greatest part of the country about the bottom of the Bay which is call'd Mooa,[2] and found it perfectly cultivated for above a mile back from the sea, and full of inclosures made by such fences as were seen at Ha'paee but they were more extensive and had finer roads in the interspaces. The habitations within these inclosures are very numerous and belong chiefly to some of the principal people of the island, many of whom reside at this place. Each of them has a proper entrance or door, generally higher than the fence & of a sufficient breadth, which opens in the same manner as one properly hung upon hinges, behind which is a pretty large spar that rests with

[1] Cf. Cook, p. 139, n. 1 above. [2] Mu'a.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

nearly like that of Otaheite & they blow into it through the Nose, but make very indifferent Music of it. The Mimia is made like the Pipe of Pan with nine fistulæ tyed together of different Lengths, they draw them along the Mouth & blow into them, but I never found that they made any thing like music out of them. The Drums are made of large cylindrical Pieces of wood like a Garden roller & excavated, which must cost them much trouble to do with their Tools; a Slit just wide enough to get the Hand in is made from one end to the other & there is no hole at either end, they beat them with 2 Sticks. Other musical Instrum[ts] if such they may be called have been already mentioned in the account of the Dances at Happai.

Their carving they execute very neat, this art is chiefly employed by them in ornamenting their Clubs, which they carve all over with the shape of Men, Birds, Dogs & Fish &c. in different parts, and fill up the whole with strait & spiral Lines in various directions & they sometimes inlay them with bone, as they likewise do their Stools that they use for pillows tho' they never carve them, they also carve the handles of fly flaps in the same Manner that they do their Clubs, & they have small sticks carved two of which they put between their fingers & clap together in the same manner that Children in England do with Stones. They have small Images of Men & Birds made of Bone which they sometime[s] wear about their necks as ornaments. They polish their different Manufactures of wood with a file which is made of a piece of wood covered with the Skin of the Shark.

The general appearance of the Island is very beautiful it being entirely covered from one end to the other with Cocoa nut, Breadfruit & other fruit trees, it is low, there being not a single Hill or any considerable rising Ground upon it; it is long & narrow being about in Length & broad. On advancing into the interior part of the Country nothing can be more pleasing than the appearance of their Houses and Plantations & of the Cocoa nut, breadfruit and Plantain Trees loaded with fruit & the large fields of Yams which are to be met with all over the Island, over which you travel along delightful Lanes between the Wicker Partition of the different inclosures, & here & there is a burying place and a large building much larger than the dwelling Houses, which seems appropriated as a public Hall for the use of a district to meet in to transact public Business or to perform their Dances, or as they were situated near the burying places they perhaps perform some Ceremonies in them at their Funerals. There were generally two or three Seats hewn in the Pillars that supported the Building which seemed to be for the reception of the Priests or Chiefs; in these Houses they

[451 cont.]

175 764 137 the event shewed that we were not mistaken. We found a beautiful green lawn, enclosed on all sides by shady bushes and trees, amongst which casuarinas, pandangs, and wild sago-palms appeared with their various tints of green. A row of Barringtonias, as big as the loftiest oaks, formed one side of it, and shrewed it with their large blushing 175 764 flowers. At the upper end of it, there was a rising two or three feet high, set out with coral-stones cut square. The area above was covered with a green sod, like the rest of the lawn. Two steps, likewise of coral rock, led up to this part, in the midst of which a house was situated, exactly like that which we saw at Ea-oowhe. Its length was about twenty, the breadth fifteen, and the height of the ridge ten feet. The roof descended sloping nearly to the ground, and was made of banana leaves. We entered into this building with only one of the natives, the rest keeping at some distance. We found the floor covered with broken pieces of white coral rock, and in one corner a heap of blackish pebbles, about eight feet long, which was [304] [763] elevated a foot above the white stones. The native told us that a man lay buried there, and pointing to the place where his little finger had formerly been cut away, he plainly signified that when his [532] [778] [171] maduas or parents (13) died, they mutilated their hands. We found two pieces of wood a foot long, carved [452] into some resemblance of the human figure, like those which are called e-tee at Taheitee, but they were treated in the same manner, that is without the least degree of respect or veneration, being frequently trod upon and kicked about. These burying-places, which are called a-Fayetooca in the language of the country, are always delightfully situated on green lawns, and

13. Perhaps any relations in the ascending line.

[462]

175 together, of which the planks were sewed in the same manner as in
501 the common canoe; but they were covered all over, and had a kind
[171] of elevated stage or platform, like the Taheitian war-canoes (16).

16. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 221.

[532] Some of them may carry one hundred and fifty men; and their sails,
which are latine, are made of strong mats, in which the rude figure
175 of a tortoise or a cock, &c. is sometimes represented (17). As a
501
114 17. The figure of a canoe in Schouten's voyage, gives a very good idea of one of the sailing-boats of Tonga-Tabboo. See Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. pag, 17,18.

farther detail would be tedious to most readers, and instructive only to mariners, I omit it in this place, and refer those who wish to be better acquainted with the subject to the accurate figures with which Mr. Hodges has ornamented captain Cook's account of this voyage.
175 I shall only observe, that it appears probable from the good
501 construction of the sailing-boats, that the inhabitants of these
171 islands are more experienced mariners than those of Taheitee and the Society Isles.

175 Among the great numbers of people who surrounded our ships, we
302 observed several whose hair seemed to be burnt at the ends, and were
[237] strewed with a white powder. Upon examination we found that this powder was nothing else than lime, made of shells or coral, which had corroded or burnt the hair. The taste of powdering was at its height [463
in this island. We observed a man who had employed a blue powder, and many persons of both sexes who wore an orange powder, made of
175 turmerick. St. Jerom, who preached against the vanities of the age,
302 very seriously reprehends a similar custom in the Roman ladies:
171 "Ne irrufet crines, et anticipet sibi ignes Gehennae!" Thus, by an

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

more existed. There is a specimen in the Vienna collection—but we do not know that it was collected on Cook's voyages. The accession information says only that it came to the Museum für Völkerkunde from Belvedere Castle in 1877 (plate 3*a*).[A]

The Cook collection in Vienna was purchased by Leopold von Fictell at the Leverian sale in 1806. According to the annotated sale catalogue, Fictell did not buy a Tongan feather headdress. However, one of the lots that he bought (1445) was an 'Elegant feather head dress, Brazil' (Leverian Museum 1806: 61). As many of the Leverian lots were not assigned to the correct provenance, it is interesting to speculate that the headdress was in fact from Tonga, but not included in the Vienna Cook collection because Cook did not go to Brazil. Perhaps the Vienna specimen came from the Leverian sale, or from the sale of another private museum, or perhaps it is not from Cook's voyages at all. But it is the only example of a Tongan feather headdress identified so far. It is 31 cm. high and 54 cm. at its widest point.

According to well-informed Tongans the feather headdress is called *palā tavake* and was worn only by the Tu'i Tonga. Tradition says that the last one was made for Paulaho by Helu of Foa—perhaps to replace the ones given to Captain Cook. Again, Cook's voyages have given us the only depicted example, the only good description, and perhaps the only existing piece.

Paulaho died about 1784 and his line was defeated in civil wars shortly after. Following this, there was no need for a *palā tavake* to show the divine exaltation of the Tu'i Tonga because this line was no longer officially recognised. But the tradition of the headdresses was perpetuated in two quite different ways. Chiefs in feather headdresses were carved on Tongan war clubs and these exist on several museum specimens. The example depicted (plate 3*b*)[A] is from the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. It would seem that the carving of human figures and other ideographs did not reach the peak of efflorescence until the coming of European tools. Perhaps these carvings of chiefs in feather headdresses were stimulated by the high esteem placed on the headdresses by Europeans.

That the tradition of *palā tavake* was not forgotten is also shown by a dance text composed by Queen Sālote in 1966:

Ke fataki nima he 'aho ko ē	And raise our hearts on this day
Tu'u ai e palā tavake	Stand on the *palā tavake*

The poetry admonishes the people to do things for today and not worry about the past and its bitterness. But in doing so one should still take tradition into account, tradition here being symbolised by the feather headdress of the Tu'i Tonga—Queen Sālote's line of descent through her mother. When translating this text most Tongans translated *palā tavake* as a feather comb and only a few recognised it as feather headdress—and it would seem that a comb with red feathers later took the place of the feather headdress. Feather combs are usually known as *helu kula* and tradition says could only be used by the Tu'i Tonga line. Queen Sālote is said to have had one—which visually acknowledged her Tu'i Tonga background even though she ruled as a Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ha'a Ngata).

Another item which history ascribes to Paulaho is a fly whisk now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. It was bought at the Leverian sale where it was listed in the catalogue as 'fly flap with a curious ornamented handle. This belonged to Powlohaw King on Tongataboo' (Leverian Museum 1806: 135). This specimen

A. [See End Plate 3, following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

and a companion in the same museum are the only examples of fly whisks made in this manner. The handles are completely incised in zigzag patterns and inset with ivory pieces in the form of men, birds, stars, and crescents (Moschner 1955: 222, 224). The carving and ivory inlay are done in the same manner as the incising of Tongan clubs, but handles of Tongan fly whisks are usually uncarved. Since fly whisks are only used by chiefs in Tonga, one would suspect that such an elaborate one would have been the possession of a special chief. The existence of the information in the Leverian sale catalogue—that it belonged to Paulaho—was the corroborating evidence we needed.

A specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum illustrates the usual early type of fly whisk (plate 4*a*). It is made with a slightly tapered, polished wood handle and a whisk of coconut fibre, bound by a wrapping of twisted *'olongā* fibre. It is 53 cm. in length and a small section of the whisk is braided. An almost identical piece exists in the Forster collection in Göttingen, and there are two similar ones in the British Museum. The Pitt Rivers example is a good type specimen. It is the usual Tongan type in early collections, its provenance is given as Tonga in Forster's list, such whisks still exist in Tonga, and an engraving in Labillardière (1802: plate 33) is virtually identical. Another whisk of this type, but with a bone handle, exists in Bern in the Webber collection from the third voyage, but its provenance is given as Tahiti. It is certainly Tongan, and can now be separated from the Tahitian materials.

The fly whisk, *fue kafa*, was an important symbol of rank in Tonga. It was manipulated in a specific manner, called *fuefue*, which took practice and deftness of hand. A Tongan proverb puts it nicely: 'Who is this fellow who wields his *fue* like a commoner?' This proverb is used today for anyone who is presumptuous beyond his status. The *fue* is a good example of the reflection of social stratification in material culture. The Tu'i Tonga was chief of the chiefs. The *fue*, a visual status symbol that could be used by all chiefs, was differentiated when used by the Tu'i Tonga in a manner befitting his high rank.

Incising of the designs in wood was done by means of a shark-tooth implement represented in the Pitt Rivers Museum by Forster specimen Number 174, 'shark's tooth set in wood, from the Friendly Isles' (plate 4*b* (i)). Before Forster's Catalogue was found in 1969, this specimen was noted '?Tahiti.' This provenance may have been derived from comparing it with a similar specimen in the British Museum that is in the TAH series, but one must remember that the TAH series reflects the views of a nineteenth century cataloguer and that, for the most part, the Tongan items were not separated from the Tahitian. Also in reference to this erroneous British Museum provenance, Duff in his recent catalogue ascribed a similar tool in the Canterbury Museum, New Zealand, to Tahiti (Duff 1969: 26). But I think there can be little doubt that this tool type is Tongan.

We are indebted on this account to Forster for two reasons. Not only does he state clearly that this tool is from Tonga but he also gave its companion tool (plate 4*b* (ii)), a nail set in a handle of bone. This specimen (Forster 101a) he lists as 'An old nail, brought to the friendly Isles by Tasman in 1643 and preserved by the Natives, & used as a gouge or borer'. Thus, though one might question his attribution of the shark-tooth tool to Tonga, one could hardly question the nail attribution. And this is crucial, for the hafting is virtually identical. Reinold Forster describes this piece, or a similar one, in his *Observations:* '. . . when we landed at Tonga-tabu

A. [See End Plate 4, following p. 220--Analyst]
4

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

Göttingen example has two holes with a coconut-fibre cord linking them. The Pitt Rivers Museum lacks a cord and has three holes. Large pearl shell ornaments also have either two or three holes for suspension. An example of the latter is an archaeological specimen accompanied by a shell bead, found in Tonga on the chest of a skeleton. Such ornaments were also in the Forster collection, where they were listed as part of Number 98: 'three mother of pearl shells which hang on the breast'. These three specimens have not been located—but perhaps one of these or a similar one is depicted by Hodges in his engraving of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1*a*). A specimen exists in Bishop Museum which is complete, with human hair and an ivory bead, and demonstrates the use of the holes and the bead found in the archaeological context. The archaeological shell breastplate specimen would be nearly 12 inches across if complete, indicating that the whale bone item measuring 18 inches in the Pitt Rivers Museum would not be too extraordinary.

Tongan necklaces exist in Museum collections in a great variety of materials and styles. The most elaborate example is in Vienna, again from the sale of the Leverian Museum and probably from Cook's third voyage, perhaps even Paulaho's ornament. Fictell seems to have had the right contacts at the London sale, for the Tongan and other specimens he chose were the best of the Leverian collections—and, by extension, the best from Cook's third voyage. The necklace example (Moschner 1955: 208) combines a large pearl shell with a waterworn pebble (often used for decorating graves of chiefs), groups of bird bones, pointed brown shells, cowrie shells, a shell called *pule'otu* (worn only by chiefs), and shell beads. Also in Vienna is the only example of a carved human figure so far traceable to Cook's voyages. Two-and-a-half inches high, with holes for stringing at the back of the pendant, this ivory piece may have been Paulaho's. The only other such item of proven eighteenth century date is a depiction in Labillardière (1802: plate 32).

The two specimens in Vienna, again, seem to be the extraordinarily high-ranking types. The more usual types are found in the Pitt Rivers Museum. These consist of long strands of white and dark beads, sometimes in sections, and sometimes alternated, as well as necklaces employing several strands of bird bone. One of the specimens (plate 5*b*) has carved ivory pendants in various shapes—cylindrical beads, which have also been found in archaeological contexts; and an object which resembles the head of a missile, which is also found on necklaces in Göttingen and Dublin. An ivory pendant in the form of a bird is found on this Pitt Rivers specimen, and similar birds are in Göttingen, Vienna, and in a drawing from Labillardière (1802: plate 32).

As a final example of the use of depictions and descriptions from Cook's voyages, it should be noted that even the seemingly unlikely subjects of music and dance can be given new insights by the study of these early materials. These descriptions serve to demonstrate both continuity and change. Webber's drawing of the nose-flute player, found in the third voyage account, suggests early morning and depicts the seated posture and manner of holding the nose flute. The nose flute was traditionally used to awaken high chiefs—an honour which was also accorded to Queen Elizabeth of England when she visited Tonga in 1953, and a photograph taken at that time is remarkably similar to Webber's drawing. On the other hand, the bamboo stamping tubes drawn by Webber (plate 6*a*), and described by Anderson (Beaglehole 1967: 875), are important because this musical instrument no

A, B, [See End Plates 5 and 6 following p. 220--Analyst]

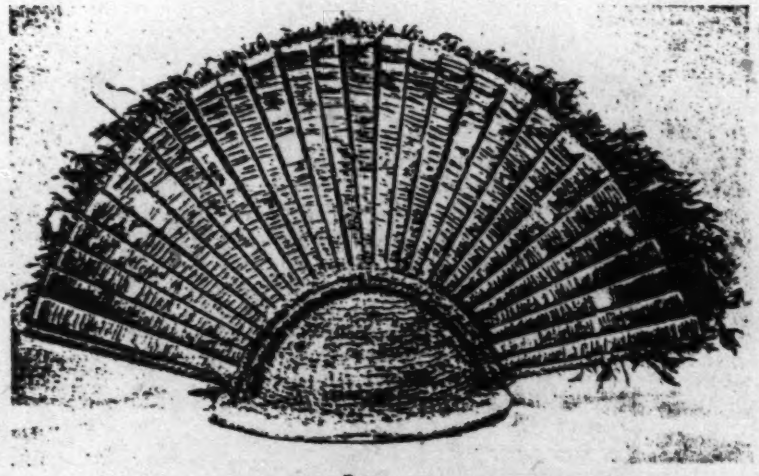


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PLATE 3a.

532

PLATE 3b.

[End Plate 3]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

/60 cont./

304 178 However, a large number of men and older women in Tonga wear tattoo marks (tatatau) in the form of letters (block letters), namely their initials, chiefly on the inside of their forearms. (171)

171. Their forearms are usually bare (short or rolled-up sleeves).

[532] In addition, one sees a few men who have pictorial tattoos, such as birds, (dove, the Tongan heraldic animal), lions or two crossed flags. These are generally worn on top of the forearm or on the chest.

Thus we find an essential change in Tongan tattooing: the old ornaments have been lost and in their place /61/ have appeared the prosaic, though in Tonga greatly esteemed letters, as well as a few European symbols. And tattooing shifted from the parts of the body generally clothed (hidden tattoos) chiefly to the unclothed forearms (visible tattoos).

Usually the operation is undertaken at the age of 16, which probably corresponds to the age for ancient Tongan tattooing. In [177] place of the old comblike bone instuments the Tongans now use European (sewing) needles (hui),,thorns of orange twigs (tala 'i moli) and needles of the kakatisi tree (tala 'i kakatisi), sometimes also shark's teeth. As in former times, they take the soot of burned [386] Aleurites or, since it is more convenient, the soot on iron cooking pots, mix it with water, apply this black liquid to the skin part to be tattooed (on the design), puncture the skin with the needle through the color solution and then wipe off the soot water--along with the blood--from the surface of the skin. After a few days the punctured skin becomes blackish and the tattoo is fully visible. Occasionally they now also use red ink instead of the soot water. The length of time required depends on the energy of the person being tattooed and his ability to withstand pain; about an hour is the average. In [463] general, any Tongan can perform this type of tattooing, but there are

/255 cont./

771 in this Archipelago was reached; the discrepancy occasional observed
199 between belief and action is doubtless a universal attribute of
[799] human nature.

/256/ The change in Tongan religion is thus merely an exchange of the old belief in supernatural powers for a new belief in divine omnipotence. At the same time we must not forget that Christianization strengthened and deepened the religiousness of this people.

5. THEIR ART AND THEIR PLAY

A. Music, Poetry and Dance

764 The visual arts were not very highly developed in ancient Tonga.
349 Noteworthy are only the step pyramids (langi) (682)
643

682. See also W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 33 ff.

built up out of coral limestone plates, in which the supreme rulers, the Tu'i Tonga (and their high-ranking relatives) were once interred, as well as the large trilithon "Ha'amonga 'a Maui," a gate-shaped stone structure (probably around 1200 A.D.) at Kolonga/Tongatapu.
532 Aside from that, only the few wooden sculptures of gods are to be mentioned.

341 In present-day Tonga there are no visual arts, since such works
532 of architecture and sculpture have not been created for a long time
198 because of political and religious changes in the Archipelago, and the modern period has apparently given no impetus to such efforts.

533 The musical and poetic arts, on the other hand, were carried on
538 in the pre-European era to a great extent. Ancient Tongan music and explorers and the great seafarers who came after them. Europeaniza-
(199) tion, especially the Wesleyan Christianization of these islands,
[799] however, brought a change and also a suppression of these arts which therefore appear today in an essentially altered form.

533 Song was quite popular in ancient Tonga. The natives sang

100: Koch--518 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 0U9 Tonga 0U9

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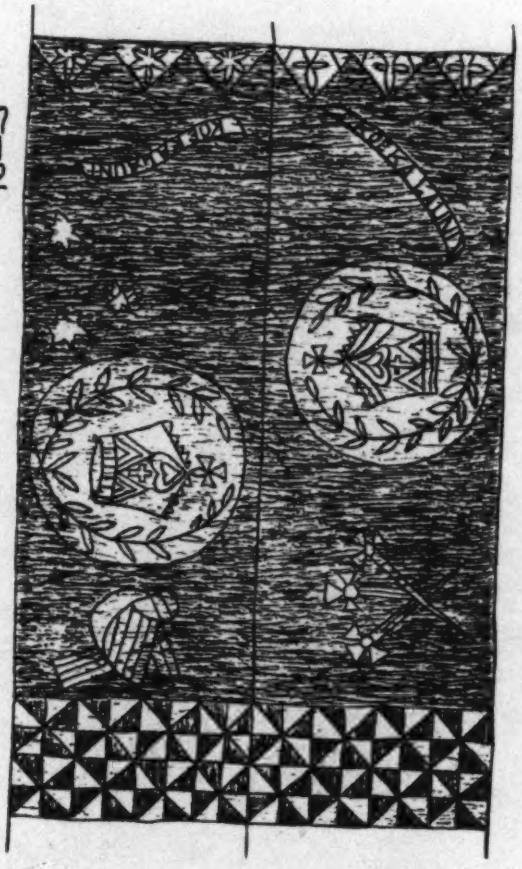

20. Design on bast cloth "ngatu tahina": symbols of the modern Tongan state

[End Plate 11]